

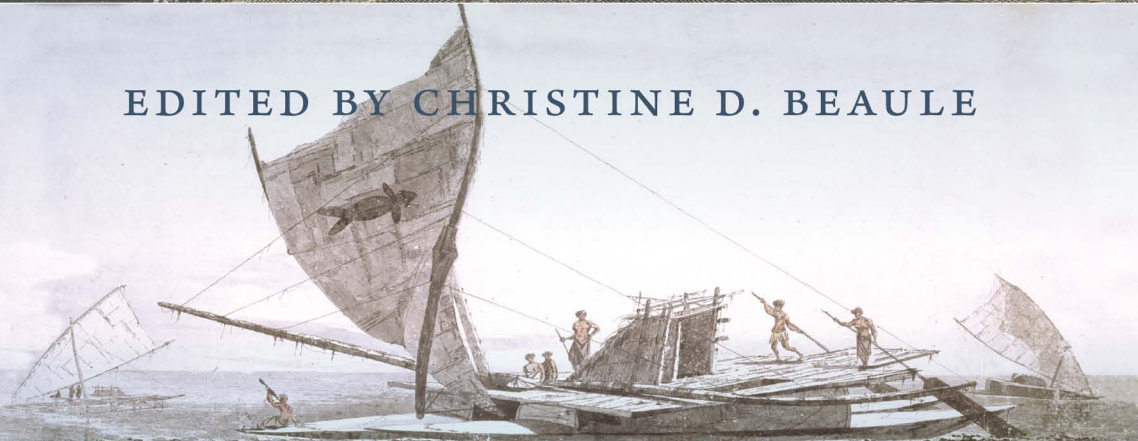
FRONTIERS



OF COLONIALISM



EDITED BY CHRISTINE D. BEAULE



Frontiers of Colonialism



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Challenging the Frontiers of Colonialism

CHRISTINE D. BEAULE

The archaeology of colonialism has, perhaps more than most specialties in the discipline, had a strongly interdisciplinary character for many decades. However, as scholars are increasingly recognizing, we remain constrained by our intradisciplinary regional and temporal specializations. Specialties within academic research reflect communities of practitioners working on related questions about some area of the human experience or natural world. Within archaeology, those boundaries have tended to be regional, with Mesoamericanists or China specialists largely writing for, working with, and responding to the arguments of their regional colleagues. We are often further specialized by cultural group (Nahuatl, Zapotec), chronological period (Formative Period, Postclassic Period), methodological specialty (lithic analysis, remote sensing), or theoretical tendency (Marxism, postprocessualism). This does not preclude reading about, borrowing from, or actively engaging with scholars in different subspecialties, but it is rare indeed that a scholar of Roman settlement patterns might engage substantially with a specialist in Mesopotamian ceramics.

In part, this natural tendency to specialize afflicts every discipline of knowledge production, and may simply reflect the exponential proliferation of expertise and publication venues. But these theoretical divides can also be a hindrance to the fruitful cross-pollination of ideas, methodologies, and ways of interpreting patterns. As an Andean Late Formative Period household archaeologist, I have a sizable community of Andeanists to draw upon, but I may also benefit from new models and new approaches that my colleagues working in historic Vietnam have to offer. This is not a call to ignore regional, methodological, or other kinds of boundaries, of course, but to consider what we may be inadvertently cutting ourselves off from when we attend the same regionally specific symposia at conferences, peruse the same journals and book series that publish the research of colleagues working in the same specialty, and ignore the rest.

The central objective of this edited volume is to call critical attention to two particular intradisciplinary boundaries and their dampening effect on fruitful cross-cultural and cross-temporal comparison. Archaeologists are hindered by the self-imposed boundary between historic and prehistoric archaeology and by assumptions about different rates and kinds of cultural continuity and change before and after the arrival of Europeans. This is especially relevant to studies of colonialism in history and archaeology, where scholars wrestle with case studies of states and empires that may be interregional or international in scale. Did, for example, the Spanish Empire truly do something unprecedented, something that had never before been accomplished in human history? Was it simply the fact that to establish and maintain colonies, the Spanish had to cross first the Atlantic, and then the Pacific? Did that make for a qualitatively different kind of empire than, for example, that produced by the Qing or Akkadians? Archaeologists working on examples of historic European colonialism rarely make use of scholarship on non-European or prehistoric colonialism. The chapters in this volume collectively challenge those self-imposed theoretical frontiers in our discipline. The European/non-European and prehistoric/historic frontiers between archaeologies of colonialism are the frontiers we seek to call attention to and, where possible, blur.

Smith makes a similar point in the introduction to her edited volume on ancient cities (2003:3–4): “While analysts of modern cities often use the configurations that they see as indicators that the Industrial Revolution brought irreversible and substantial changes to the phenomenon of concentrated populations, archaeological evidence indicates that these same types of transformations are visible in the premodern world.” Like debates about ancient and modern forms of globalization (Appadurai 1990; LaBianca and Scham 2006), the comparative archaeology of colonialism allows us to challenge those assumptions. The premodern/modern divide is commonly and colloquially used to draw a line between the non-Western civilizations that dominated their respective regions before the sixteenth century, on the one hand, and the European-driven empires that developed afterward, on the other. But turning a critical gaze onto these dividing lines reveals the imprecise and variable meanings of all of the major conceptual pieces of these schema: “modern” (and its corollary, premodern), “European” (and non-Western), and “states” (and empires) are neither fixed nor clearly defined.

As the chapters in this volume reveal, many of the features we associate with colonialism may not be present at all, or may only appear in very different forms than we expect. The effects of colonialism and colonization in local contexts

are highly variable. By including several regions (e.g., the Philippines, Pacific, China, and Egypt) alongside better-known cases of colonialism (e.g., Meso-america, the Andes, North America, and Britain), that heterogeneity may take surprising forms. This unusual set of case studies extends existing scholarship on colonialism by encouraging archaeologists to seek comparative parallels in untapped scholarship on other regions and time periods. Crossing our intra-disciplinary theoretical frontiers can only enrich the power of explanations for aspects of the heterogeneous local impacts of colonialism. Part of the effect of this tendency to work mostly within our regional and temporal silos is that key concepts such as colonialism, cross-cultural contact, and colonization are defined quite differently, increasing the danger of our talking past each other about these critical terms. The following section reviews some of these definitional debates and advocates for a specific set of working definitions.

States, Empires, and Colonialism: Definitions and Variability

Historians (Coronil 2007; Jones and Phillips 2005; Perdue 1998) have challenged the tendency to call European colonial powers “empires,” while non-European examples retain the lesser label of “states.” Coronil (2007:254) defines “empire” as a category subsuming different forms of centralized rule over populations in usually adjacent territories, especially in premodern cases. Its root is the Latin term “imperium,” which referred to “systems of authority of strong political centers over peoples generally located in contiguous territories. In the modern period, ‘empire’ came to be associated with European political systems based on strong states that exerted control over distant populations, propelled in part by the expansion of trade and industry” (254). States are regional polities, and they are smaller and presumably simpler than empires.

Modern empires, beginning in the West with the Spanish conquest of Latin America and cemented by Spain’s colonial outposts in the western Pacific Ocean, differ in scale as well as the intensity and nature of cross-cultural interaction. At least three traits differentiate them from earlier, smaller conquest states. First, empires require the construction of ideologies of justification, such as the civilizing mission at the heart of anthropology and archaeology’s colonial ancestry (Gosden 1999; Mendy 2003; Thomas 2000). Second, empires necessitate the organization of new, imposed socioeconomic hierarchies that subsume previous cultural, linguistic, political, and regional distinctions (e.g., the invention of the “Indian” in the Americas). Third, the vast geographic distances between colonial nations and colonized groups require an administrative and

military complex that far exceeds the needs of powers that conquer and administer territorially contiguous lands and populations.

Geographers, like historians, have tackled the conceptual difference between empires and colonial powers. Jones and Phillips (2005:142) define imperialism as “unequal economic, cultural, and territorial relationships based on domination and subordination.” Colonialism is a form of imperialism that includes “the establishment and maintenance of rule and/or the tangible settlement of people and the displacement or subordination of others.” The two are both interrelated and overlapping, and hence difficult to compartmentalize. This recognition of colonialism as one form of imperialism is a good first step, but a more comprehensive conceptual framework comes from Coronil (2007).

Colonialism is one of five modalities of imperialism that also include (Coronil 2007:242) polities that accord full membership status to conquered subjects, absorb them within the home polity, attempt to wipe out the conquered, and isolate indigenous populations socially and geographically. A mix of these strategic relationships between imperial home and subject groups may be found within an empire or over the course of a polity’s history. But colonialism involves a particular set of features, which I outline below. For the moment, it is important to conceptually distinguish between imperialism, as a form of state territorial expansion, and colonialism, which is one way that that expansion may occur.

The project of defining colonialism is further complicated by the need to separate colonialism from colonization. Stein’s work (2002a, 2002b, 2005a, 2005b; see also Domínguez 2002) conceptually teases apart the two phenomena, and in so doing it allows for relationships between colonizers and local populations to be arranged along a continuum. The need to distinguish between processes of colonialism and the establishment of archaeologically recognizable colonies is apparent even in Stein’s reworked definition of a colony. Colonies are implanted settlements of foreigners, socially and spatially distinct from local communities (which makes them archaeologically visible), that may or may not be controlled by the metropole or core power. Thus, a group of colonists whose presence is merely tolerated and who do not dictate the terms of trade with locals may function more like a trading post or ethnic enclave than a center of colonial control over a conquered people. Colonists, in other words, are not necessarily in charge of local affairs.

How are we to distinguish then between a transplanted group of foreigners and a center of colonial administration? When we identify a site as a colony, we need to be careful to avoid assumptions about power dynamics, what (or who) caused notable changes in material culture, whether (or not) intensified

subsistence or craft production constitutes economic exploitation, and the hierarchical nature of relationships between representatives of a foreign power and local peoples. Their transplantation and continued ethnic identity with a more powerful, distant homeland alone does not make a group colonists. Colonization is a state-driven process with particular objectives (e.g., labor exploitation, direct resource extraction, tribute collection, religious conversion). Colonies are the groups of individuals charged with carrying out those missions.

In this sense, a transplanted group of fisherman or farmers in lowland Peru from Tiwanaku (Goldstein 2005), though far from regional administrators in their scope or power, represent a colonial presence comparable to the Dutch in Indonesia. The danger, of course, is that the term “colony” carries heavy conceptual baggage in the form of a strong association with the exercise of political power and economic extraction. So those Tiwanaku colonists may very well have extracted local resources (crops unable to be grown on the high, dry Bolivian *altiplano*), but there is little evidence of territorial domination, of cultural assimilation or conversion, or even of intensive interaction and exchange with local Moquegua populations (Goldstein 2005; Janusek 2008; Williams and Nash 2002). “Diaspora” is a more flexible term than “colony,” when those larger political relationships of centrally directed exploitation and control simply do not exist (as in chapters 10 and 12, this volume). (The literature on diasporas is extensive and is not well integrated into the archaeology of colonialism. Given limited space, I leave it to chapter authors to describe as needed.) In this sense, the comparative archaeological study of colonialism offers a crucial counterpart to the overreliance on historical texts. We more often see the daily habitus of colonies’ inhabitants and local neighbors, and that long-term perspective on material culture allows us to see correlations between rapid changes in political contexts and daily life. Those patterns receive relatively little attention in the historical record, compared to the concerns of empires, or the Histories writ large by those in charge.

Some of the chapters in this volume challenge the conceptual frameworks of state, empire, and colonialism. Chapter 4 critically assesses postcolonial approaches to research on the Romanization of indigenous peoples in Britain. His discussion of empire, colonialism, and colonies offer a richly textured framework that should be thought-provoking to scholars working on questions of assimilation, resistance, identity formation, and conquest elsewhere. Similarly, chapter 8, which discusses the impact of European colonialism on Pacific inter-island/inter-archipelago conflict puts indigenous Pacific Islander societies front and center. Their cross-cultural trade, wars, raids, and long-distance voyag-

ing complicate inherent theoretical notions about mobile colonizers and static colonized peoples. Chapters 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 11 marry archaeological and historical data in different ways, fleshing out or reconstructing local, indigenous perspectives in the process. The chapters in this book demonstrate tremendous variability in the processes of colonialism, forms of colonization, and impacts of imperial formations on indigenous populations. The details of those highly variable case studies stretch our definitions.

All of the chapters in this and other recent volumes on the archaeology of colonialism challenge the inclusivity and generality of definitions of colonialism. But if we are to build a comparative explanatory framework for the variability we see in colonialism's processes and impacts, then we need a common vocabulary. The following set of definitions is not intended to be static, but it offers common ground for putting European and non-European, historic and prehistoric case studies of colonialism into dialogue. It may very well be the case that readers

Table 1.1. Working definitions for this volume

Colonialism	A form of imperialism that is state-driven and state-directed, which usually (but not always) employs a strategy of colonization to administer distant territories and conquered populations, for the explicit purpose of exploiting local populations' labor or resources.
Colonization	State-driven process with particular objectives (e.g., labor exploitation, direct resource extraction, tribute collection, or religious conversion) related to imperial expansion. Colonization, and its manifestation of colonies, is one form of imperialism.
Colony	An implanted settlement of foreigners, socially and spatially distinct from local communities (which makes them archaeologically visible), that may or may not be controlled by the metropole or core power.
Diaspora	An implanted settlement of foreigners, like a colony, but without larger political relationships of centrally directed exploitation of local populations. <i>Diaspora</i> is a more neutral term than <i>colony</i> , because the latter carries with it strong connotations of domination.
Empire	An imperial polity that exercises some degree of political or economic control over usually contiguous territories. Empires develop ideologies of justification for their aggression, new socioeconomic hierarchies that are imposed over conquered populations and which subsume previous local distinctions, and an administrative and military complex to administer distant territories.
Imperialism	The process through which a state expands its territory and political hegemony over another population, usually through force or the threat of force.

would exclude some of the case studies in this book on the basis of these definitions. But all describe archaeological examples that we believe merit inclusion because of the operation of large empires in the background.

The definitions of key terms employed in this chapter and by most of the authors in this volume are given in Table 1.1. Specific case studies of colonial powers and colonies or studies of the impact of colonialism on native or local populations may very well expand or challenge any of these definitions. But more important perhaps is the difference between the ways that scholars of European or non-European, prehistoric or historic cases of colonialism approach these phenomena.

The Pitfalls and Advantages of Texts

The presence or absence of written records is one remarkably pervasive divide between areas of archaeological research. Jennings (2011:4) writes of a “Great Wall” that divides the ancient and modern worlds in the way we conceive of history: “The greatest strength of the wall is its unobtrusiveness—it’s so deeply embedded that we forget that it is there.” Archaeologists often fail to see how we box ourselves in with intradisciplinary walls such as prehistoric/historic. There are different regional versions of this disciplinary Great Wall, but a good example is the debate over how the North American chronological phrase “Contact Period” masks the violence and power dynamics of early encounters between Native Americans and Europeans (Carlson 2000; Deagan 1998; Gosden 2004; Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998; Loren 2000; Paynter 2000; Silliman 2005).

The availability of archival documents has a profound effect on those who use them. As a Prehispanic Andeanist, I will never have texts to complement my archaeological materials. The research presented in many chapters in this volume demonstrates that although ancient and modern documents can richly texture our knowledge of the past, they can also be contradicted by the archaeological record. That does not, of course, stop prehistorians from tackling questions about ancient mind-sets or from attempting to give voice to those whose perspectives are not typically included in the historical record. But the links drawn between evidentiary support and their interpretations or reconstructions are more indirect than those enjoyed by historians and geographers (Baxter 2005; Hodder 2012; Mancke 1999; Pauketat 2012; Renfrew 2009).

In addition to the variable richness of interpretations, the absence or presence of written records imposes methodological differences on researchers. In Chinese

and Egyptian studies, for example, there are acute differences of training, language acquisition, methodological approaches, and research questions between those focused on documents and those focused on sites and artifacts. Epigraphers have different tools and theoretical frameworks than anthropological archaeologists, and both differ in crucial ways from the foci of classical scholars.

“Classics” is a bit of a catch-all term that subsumes the rigorous study of texts and sites from classical civilizations, those commonly designated as the intellectual and sociopolitical forebears of Western society (Greece, Rome, the biblical Near East, and sometimes Egypt). The analysis of those texts may draw more on comparative literature, political science, religion, or art. It may or may not be combined with more traditional archaeological research questions and methodologies involving material remains (e.g., chapter 7). The strongly interdisciplinary and highly diverse nature of classical archaeology, coupled with the tendency to avoid comparison with modern or prehistoric states, have historically set it apart from anthropological archaeology (research on Roman settlements throughout Britain and France are notable exceptions: e.g., chapter 4, this volume; Luley 2014).

The timing of the introduction of writing systems also varies significantly from region to region. In Mesopotamian Uruk, written records developed over about a millennium, with cuneiform script on clay tablets appearing in Uruk temple archives by around 3200 B.C.E. In China, a recognizable script emerged by the late Shang Dynasty in 1200–1050 B.C.E., while the same phenomenon transformed Old Kingdom Egypt by 3000 B.C.E. The Maya script, dating to the third century B.C.E., gives Mesoamerican archaeologists a rich corpus of data to complement archaeological remains. And other case studies of ancient states and empires, most notably in Andean South America, are only known through the lens of archaeology.

Although some might use the 1492 start of the Age of Exploration as a key dividing line in the Americas, the division between prehistoric and historic may in fact have come quite a bit earlier in different areas of the globe. The relationship between this divide (prehistoric/historic) and between modern/premodern is a complicated one. For the sake of simplicity, I seek to capture both of those internal disciplinary frontiers in thinking, for example, about what premodern, non-Western colonial powers have in common with modern, non-Western ones. Thus the Mongolian empire of the Zhungars (1671–1760 C.E.) (Perdue 1998, 2005) and the Russian colonial presence in northwestern North America (1741–1867 C.E.) (Lightfoot 2003; Sunderland 2010) are two examples that do not fit neatly on either side of the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The identification of the sixteenth century as a pivotal historical moment dividing premodern from modern, and indeed captured in the very label “Age of Exploration” (always capitalized, it must be so important), reflects the common perception of the Spanish Empire as the first in a truly different kind and scale of interregional interaction and power brokering. But of course that is precisely one of the assumptions that we want to challenge in this book, as others have recently (Mattingly 2011; Rubertone 2012; Stahl 2012).

Crossing Boundaries or Simply Ignoring Them?

There are three important implications of this challenge to the prehistory/history divide in the archaeology of colonialism. The first is that globalization as it has developed since the Spanish built a transatlantic empire is not a strictly modern phenomenon. Scholars such as Friesen (2013), Jennings (2011), and LaBianca and Scham (2006) draw clear parallels between globalization and earlier forms of state-sponsored conquest and exploitation, demonstrating that in some ways, globalization is a new version of an ancient pattern, albeit on a larger scale. Chapters 3, 5, 6, and 8 in this volume offer further support to that critical body of work.

The second implication of such a wide-ranging collection of case studies of one kind of cross-cultural interaction (colonialism) is to challenge the boundaries between regional specialties. Much of the literature on topics such as changes in household organization or gender identities within colonialism has concerned specific geographic areas like the Americas or Mediterranean. Putting disparate examples side by side helps to highlight notable similarities and parallel sequences of change in different regions and times. For example, chapter 9 in this volume, on the Liangzhu culture, challenges Chinese archaeologists to critically assess concepts of migration and diffusion. In similar ways, Jones (chapter 2) questions the extent to which the arrival of Europeans dictated Haudenosaunee settlement location choices. Reading Silverstein’s research (chapter 11) alongside Green and Costion’s (chapter 10) offers new ways of thinking about colonialism in multiethnic contexts.

The third implication of crossing the intradisciplinary frontiers of colonial prehistory/history, European/non-European, and regional specialties may be the most important of all. Stahl (2012:159) notes that archaeology’s central focus on identifying and giving meaning to discontinuities or significant changes in the archaeological record unintentionally supports the assumption that continuity (the absence of change) implies stability. She writes, “As in history, the absence of

change has often seemed to require no explanation.” Fox (2010) has also written on this issue. This question of continuity is relevant not only to archaeologists but also to indigenous and aboriginal populations who have been dispossessed of their lands and cultural resources and who may be legally asked to demonstrate long-term continuity in their efforts to reclaim what was theirs (Stahl 2012:160). Changes in material culture do not necessarily represent population displacement; archaeologists may understand this basic point, of course, but the subtleties of legal codes and interpretations, and cultural assumptions about continuity and change, have profound consequences for indigenous peoples (Silliman 2009).

Archaeologists have a real opportunity to contribute to cross-disciplinary academic conversations about parallel histories, how history is told and by whom (Rubertone 2012), what colonialism is or was, and what impact colonial processes had on both ancient and modern indigenous cultures (Mahoney 2010). But in order to move forward with these metatheoretical and activist projects, if that is something we want to do, we must turn a critical eye on our own tendencies to build walls around our specialties.

In the next four sections I summarize some recent examples of research questions and theoretical approaches to colonialism in what I call the four areas of colonial scholarship. Given this volume’s objective to challenge self-imposed frontiers between Western and non-Western colonialism and between prehistoric and historic archaeologies of colonialism, the four research areas include (1) premodern non-Western colonialism, (2) premodern Western colonialism, (3) modern non-Western colonialism, and (4) modern Western colonialism. The Western/non-Western label mirrors their colloquial use and refers to colonial powers in areas of the world commonly thought of as part of the West (i.e., Europe and the Americas) or East (i.e., Asia, Africa, and Oceania). Thus the Dutch colonies in Indonesia would be part of a modern Western example of colonialism, while the Japanese possessions in Taiwan are a non-Western modern example. The purpose of this four-section overview is to highlight some of the different research questions, methodologies, and terminology that scholars in each area use.

Premodern Non-Western Colonialism

Archaeological research on case studies of colonialism that predate the Age of Exploration and whose imperial capitals lie outside of Europe is quite prolific. Here I highlight two projects that challenge the distinction between state and empire. Papantoniou argues that the Persian Achaemenid Empire (ca. 550–330 B.C.E.), centered in southwestern Iran, was “essentially tributary—that is, with

little interest in political control” (Cadogan et al. 2012:4, as cited in Papantoniou 2013:171). Instead, a process of cultural borrowing is evident in elites’ assemblages, such as Cypriot coins with images of Greek deities instead of previously used Near Eastern symbols (e.g., Persian ram, Egyptian *ankh*) (171). The Cypriot *basileis* (kings) were also dedicants to major Panhellenic sanctuaries (172). These were, he argues, some of the mechanisms that enabled a long process of Hellenization to take place from the Cypriot city-states through the classical Hellenistic period. Changes in royal ideologies and material cultural influences intensified in the Ptolomaic era, but there is little evidence for Hellenic colonies, Achaemenid administrators, or attempts at territorial control. Papantoniou’s research serves as a reminder that imperialism and colonialism are not interchangeable.

This important distinction is supported by Khatchadourian’s work on the Achaemenid presence in the central Armenian site of Tsaghkahovit. Sites like Gumbati (in Georgia), Sari Tepe and Qarajamirli (in Azerbaijan), and Beniamin (in Armenia) have monuments stylistically related to distant imperial centers (2014:137). However, a “material assemblage of governance” such as tablets and seals is virtually absent in the provinces (138). Persian and Greek textual sources agree that the Armenian region paid tribute to the Achaemenids for more than two centuries, but this tribute extraction was apparently accomplished through mechanisms other than colonization and direct rule.

These works highlight the shaky foundations that the “emulation hypothesis” rests upon. When we find objects with obvious foreign origins or which display stylistic emulation of objects from the heartland of an empire, we often interpret those objects as reinforcing relationships between subject populations and distant (or not so distant) rulers via conscious emulation of material referents to more powerful polities and their ideologies. The expression of political submission, of religious affirmation, or of subjugation can be read into local uses of Achaemenidan coins or Inkan ceremonial drinking vessels in peripheral contexts. But, Khatchadourian argues, this assumes “deferential, acquiescent subjects who willfully submit to the conditions of their own subjection with the help of a world of well-behaved objects that work reliably in the service of the crown to reproduce the relations of macropolitical asymmetry”; things are not, however, “hopelessly beholden to the human intentions of their masters. We now understand that mimesis is always flawed” (2014:163). This reinforces the need for multiple, complementary lines of evidence to make convincing arguments about the specific nature of cross-cultural relationships (see also argument in chapter 10, this volume). In at least these two examples, archaeologists

working on premodern, non-Western colonialism are critically questioning the assumed link between colonization and imperialism and between stylistic boundaries and elite emulation of distant imperial powers.

Premodern Western Colonialism

Compared to historical archaeology in the Americas, prehistoric examples of colonialism with European or American capitals have received relatively little attention from anthropological archaeologists. Classical archaeologists working in Greece, Rome, the Near East, and Egypt may have different sets of research questions, sources of data, and theoretical frameworks, or they may operate within the same frameworks as anthropological archaeologists. Data come from archaeological remains, but they may reference a large, well-studied corpus of literary sources also employed by historians, art historians, historical linguists, and researchers in translation studies and cultural studies. Multiple historical colonial powers developed, from the Greeks in southern Italy and western Asia, to the Phoenicians throughout the western Mediterranean, to the Roman settlements in Britain, France, and North Africa. But van Dommelen (1997:306) has argued that classical archaeology has generally shied from theories of colonialism, preferring local, particularistic interpretations of foreign colonies that use Greek or Roman concepts, and individual figures and events as their analytical basis rather than comparative, critical perspectives taken from anthropology or archaeology.

Mattingly (2011:7) argues that all empires exhibit a conscious effort to exercise power on a large scale. He asserts: “I do not accept that the ancient land empires can have nothing in common with the capitalist sea empires of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries or the American airstrip and aircraft carrier empire of the later twentieth and twenty-first centuries.” His study of the history of the Roman Empire pays close attention to its periodic discontinuities, its uneven nature and dynamic history, captured in the notion of multiple imperialisms (17). There is, of course, room for both in any field of archaeological study—the local *and* the regional are appropriate scales of analysis in our efforts to better understand big historical phenomena such as colonialism.

Papatoniou (2013) uses a similarly broad Mediterranean political context in his interpretations of Cypriot populations’ responses to Hellenistic and Ptolemaic polities. His work critiques the common assumption that Alexander the Great successfully fused many different peoples into a single multicultural empire. Instead, he argues, Ptolemaic political and material influences (strategically focused on coastal towns and fort settlements) interacted with Hellenistic ones, in turn overlaid onto local Crete cultural contexts. Thus both the Hellenization and

Ptolemaic melting-pot models come up short. Papantoniou's focus on identity and material culture alongside abundant historical records from this period provides a good example of a conscious balance between texts and artifacts, and this makes it attractive for comparison. It is an example that has much in common with research at Fort Ross (Lightfoot, Wake, and Schiff 1993) and with research on the Spanish presence in the Philippines (see chapters 6 and 12, this volume).

Although the forms of evidentiary support may differ between early or pre-modern Western and non-Western cases of colonialism, the research questions are not all that different. The conceptual line dividing classical from prehistoric archaeology is self-imposed, but it fails to hold up to close scrutiny. Classical archaeologists such as Papantoniou (2013), Littman and Silverstein (chapter 7, this volume), and Hingley (chapter 4, this volume) may use ancient texts to generate research questions or enrich interpretations. These few examples show that, placed side by side, similarities in their research programs have more to teach us about comparative approaches to the mechanisms and impact of empire than about the superficial differences between them. As the next two sections show, this argument can be extended to historical or modern cases of colonialism, wherever their capitals happen to fall on a world map.

Modern Non-Western Colonialism

Khatchadourian's point about objects being imperfect conveyers of foreign ideologies is reinforced by Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff's (1998) research in pluri-ethnic Fort Ross, California. The Russian-American Company, unlike most of its European counterparts, was not a state-sponsored or directed arm of territorial expansion. It was a private corporate enterprise (Lightfoot 2003), more like a multinational corporation than the East India Company, headquartered in Great Britain. The Russian-American Company relocated Native Alaskan men (mostly Alutiiq from Kodiak Island) to harvest sea mammal furs, some of whom established households with Native Californian women (primarily Kashaya Pomo, Coast Miwok, and Southern Pomo). Household assemblages are used to map identity construction and individual intentionality in mixed social settings. Wilson, Ames, and Smith offer a similarly complex critique of foreign goods in Chinook cultural contexts in chapter 5 (this volume).

In contrast, case studies of ancient Chinese conquest and colonization tend to be uncritically subsumed under culture contact, with few notable exceptions (see chapter 9, this volume). Yan's research (2006) focuses on Zhou colonialism of the vassal Yan state. The Zhou became the third dynastic state on the Central Plain when they conquered the Shang Dynasty around the mid-elev-

enth-century B.C.E. Faced with a drastically expanded territory to administer and a highly diverse ethnic population, the Zhou court sent out royal family members and others to rule through an exchange of land (with inheritance rights) for loyalty (161). On the frontiers, such newly established vassal states often built a capital surrounded by moats and defensive walls, where colonists called *guoren* (men in the capital) lived separately from local populations called *yeren* (men in the field). This hierarchy discouraged assimilation or cultural hybridity. Sang royal family members married local women, who were given the court title *fu* (lady) (166), but there is little information about the local impact of tribute demands or intermarriage (beyond local elites' grave goods). Yan writes that "other local cultural traditions remained largely intact" (173). Jaffe's work (2015:13) on the Yan demonstrates, in contrast, that Zhou elite burials have evidence of local customs incorporated into their own. In other words, the colonizers' material culture reveals traces of localization.

Fang et al. (2015:2) add that the Zhou conquest of the Shang around 1046 B.C.E. was just one example of invaders on the Central Plain adopting local customs. Labor investments in massive public-works projects and an intensification of agricultural production and craft specialization would have had deep impacts on local economies. But those imposed changes were highly variable too; as Yao's (2008) work on the southwestern Han frontier shows, local responses to Han imperialism were mediated through native value systems. Allard's (2015) research on Chinese-style artifacts in Yunnan mortuary contexts during the first century C.E. shows similarly limited acculturation.

On the other hand, research on the impact of the Qin dynastic expansion that resulted in the unification of China between 246 and 221 B.C.E. uses regional settlement patterns to test and complement the textual record of Emperor Qin Shihuangdi's exploits (Fang et al. 2015; Feinman et al. 2010). Because there were no diagnostic artifacts allowing separation of the brief Qin interval from the subsequent Han period in southeastern Shangdong Province, the Qin-Han period (221 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) is treated as one. Nonetheless, the researchers demonstrate that a much higher regional population than in earlier times was dispersed between three population centers; these data corroborate textual claims that the emperor ordered 30,000 households (an estimated 150,000 people) to move into the area (Feinman et al. 2010). Such a massive population influx would have certainly had a greater impact on local peoples than a small number of foreign officials in a walled capital. In either case, these Chinese case studies show great potential for challenging ideas about the directionality of assimilation or the impact of colonizers on local populations. In the Zhou case,

small contingents seem to have largely walled themselves off from the local populations, whereas the Qin's efforts at settler colonialism created the conditions for more intensive and sustained cross-cultural interaction. Both case studies deserve more attention from archaeologists interested in colonialism.

Modern Western Colonialism

One of the critical issues that scholars of European colonialism struggle with stems from the well-known adage that "It is a privilege of empires to make their histories appear as History" (Coronil 2007:245; see also Williamson 2004). It is indisputable that historic European and American imperialism dominates ideas about how the geopolitical present came to be. So too is the idea that the Age of Exploration set off an inevitable march toward modern forms of interregional interaction subsumed under the amorphous label of globalization. This Eurocentric notion is complicated by Coronil's point that "Europe" itself (as the symbolic hub of civilization) is a moving target.

Coronil (2007:244) illustrates the conceptual association between Europe and modernity or civilization when he describes a childhood car trip across the Pyrenees from France to Spain. During the journey, his relatives remarked that they were "leaving" Europe. He writes of having since learned that "from the vantage point of the dominant centers of Europe, Spain appeared then as 'non-Europe,' or at least as 'not Europe yet,' a region that, like my home country and the rest of Latin America, needed to 'catch up' in order to become fully modern. Now I see that 'Europe' means the shifting apex of modernity." Imperial Spain and Portugal were not just the "crucible of modern colonialism"; they also created model empires later emulated by other European nations. In Latin America, the Spanish (and to a lesser extent the Portuguese) built on indigenous sociopolitical structures. Later, Great Britain, France, and most recently the United States have all functioned as colonial or imperial powers of different sorts in the region. Coronil continues (245): "The recognition that it is now common to exclude Spain and Portugal from Europe and to place the United States at Europe's center makes evident that 'Europe' is an imaginary construct that blurs the boundaries between literal and metaphorical frontiers. As a hyper-real construct . . . 'the West'—is a geohistorical sign that points to the apex of modernity and contains it within limits no less constraining for being shifting and imaginary." But that realization does not help us to disentangle colonialism from an ethnocentric exceptionalism according to which there is something qualitatively different between ancient forms of territorial expansion and modern Euro-American imperialism.

Archaeologists and historians counter this ethnocentrism with arguments about complex parallels between modern and ancient political formations, processes of identity formation, and other aspects of the cultures we study and inhabit. For some this may simply entail a conscious shift in perspective. Skowronek (1998), for example, writes about Asian trade networks centered in the Philippines, with Europeans firmly placed on the periphery. “European states wanted to participate as equal players in the Asian core but were economically, militarily, and politically too weak to challenge the East through Eurasia or south Asia,” writes Skowronek (46). Similarly, Richard (2012:140) argues that descriptions of the Senegalese Siin kingdom as a “predatory state” reflect Portuguese racial biases more than empirical rigor.

Applying this conscious shift in perspective to specific local contexts of colonialism, Fennell (2000, 2003) reconstructs the ways in which core symbols and religious rituals were reinterpreted and, even in abbreviated form, reinforced the BaKongo cosmology among enslaved Africans in the United States. Such diasporic studies offer one way of isolating a community that may not be the colonial power. Studies of diasporas are useful to comparative research on identity formation among subaltern populations who, almost by definition, may not have a clear sense of, nor the freedom to express, their ethnicity through material culture. In the case of enslaved peoples, but also among those conquered by others, the abrupt break in artifact forms and styles (see chapter 9, this volume) may stem from people’s limited access to materials and freedom to modify them. Stylistic breaks may also reflect deliberate attempts by agents of the hegemonic power to suppress the colonized’s foreign origins through processes such as renaming individuals and ethnic groups, breaking up families, forbidding marriages, and absorbing individuals into urban households.

Those breaks in material style need not be abrupt, however. Bayman and Dye (2013) describe very different rates and degrees of changes in postcontact Hawaiians’ adoption of Western *holokū* dresses, metal adzes, and architecture. Their research reflects an adept juxtaposition of historical records and archaeological remains, tying specific technological changes to the social identities of indigenous elites and commoners. Of their three data sources, only adzes are readily visible in the archaeological record of the Hawaiian archipelago. They rely heavily on historical documents and photographs to reconstruct patterns in houses and clothing, both of which were usually made of highly perishable materials. The historical context and the rich corpus of records available to the researchers allow for chronological specificity; individuals, families, sites, and legal and political changes can be tied to the archaeological data in Hawai‘i in

ways that are not possible in most archaeological case studies. But Bayman and Dye's interpretive approach, using material culture to get at identity formation processes, provides a valuable comparative case study.

These studies offer ways to explore interactions between different groups of people within historical contexts that may or may not be colonial. Silliman's (2005, 2012) point that the label "Contact Period" fails to conceptually recognize the violence of these encounters is a good one. But the violence inherent in the system of slave ownership, for example, was not necessarily the key factor determining how and why new languages, religious ideologies, and social and racial identities were born of those contexts (Fandrich 2007; van de Port 2005). Thus the assertion of geopolitical power by ethnic Europeans in the Americas during the colonial period did not mean that European settlers determined the form, pace, or terms of sociocultural changes among Native American, African, Caribbean, or other specific populations. In some cases, "colonial period" may be as misleading as "contact period." Jones's research in chapter 2 and the Chinook case study by Wilson, Ames, and Smith in chapter 5 both offer thoughtful examples to debates about the line between contact and colonialism. Multifaceted research on settlement patterns or detailed studies of complex and subtle material culture changes in different archaeological contexts can reveal nuanced responses to cross-cultural interaction. Clothing and bodily adornment patterns are especially sensitive indicators of cultural hybridity in colonial or multiethnic contexts, as recent case studies indicate (e.g., Beaulieu 2015; Loren 2010).

These areas of material culture show high degrees of agency in public expressions of identity and status. The cross-cultural interactions that are reflected in changing patterns of dress, jewelry, tattooing, and other individualized contexts clearly took place within colonial settings with European settlers who claimed political hegemony over non-European locals. But Europeans did not always determine the terms under which individuals and households chose to adopt or reject certain elements of practices, economic strategies, political organization, and material culture into their lives (Alexander 1998:477, as cited in Bayman and Dye 2013:113). Chapters 5 and 12 in this volume focus on material culture as a lens through which to view processes of cultural change and continuity. These chapters reveal highly variable, even subtle material influences on artifacts from the creative interplay of different cultures, different styles of goods, and different ideas in colonial settings.

Diasporic studies may offer a way to sidestep this conflict. By using ethno-genesis, material culture, or other theoretical perspectives to explore change in the archaeological record of a settlement or region, we can limit the influence

of emotional considerations of colonialism/postcolonialism on our interpretations. It is important to confront the unintended consequences of using or avoiding terminology such as “colonial period” or “contact period.” But research on diasporic communities, which may or may not be colonies (see Table 1.1), offers a way to reconstruct the impact (or lack thereof) of intense or periodic interaction in specific circumstances that may have been politically controlled either by locals or foreigners.

Voss and Casella’s (2012) edited volume brings together research focused on sexualities and gender. These case studies interrogate materiality precisely because they focus attention on intimate sites of colonial entanglements that rarely leave archaeological traces. For example, Casella’s (2012) research on nursery wards in nineteenth-century colonial Australian female prisons aims to expand both our methodological and interpretive toolboxes. Casella and Voss (2012:4) argue that “it is precisely the juxtaposition of unfamiliar imperial contexts that can sharply reveal the commonalities and diversities inherent to colonialisms.”

Similarly, Friesen (2013) challenges us to think outside the box about sites of colonialism. He advocates for hunter-gatherer world-systems theory, focused on intersocietal interaction’s contribution to social change among the Inuvialuit of the western Canadian Arctic. Friesen treats documentary and archaeological evidence as complementary, though he emphasizes the latter when reconstructing precontact sociopolitical organization. While openly acknowledging the vast differences in power, scale, and wealth between the indigenous Inuvialuit and European settlers, he employs a theoretical framework that gives equal weight to all players’ abilities to direct and shape responses to change. Extending world-systems theory (Wallerstein 1974), his work offers several layers of peripheries with varying degrees of interaction with and dependence on the European economy. (Green and Costion provide a similarly useful model of multiple interactions in chapter 10 of this volume.) Friesen’s work is part of a recent, welcome shift in the archaeology of colonialism, particularly among North Americanists, to treat indigenous or local cultures as dynamic agents of change rather than its passive recipients (Ferris 2009; Gosden 2004; Lyons and Papadopolous 2002; Rubertone 2000; Silliman 2005).

A common focus of these studies of interaction with historical European powers in geographically distant places is a self-conscious reexamination of conceptual frameworks. Revised ways of thinking about these issues give a central place to indigenous or local communities—their perspectives, oral histories, social actors, and interpretations. This carries the risk of paying insufficient

attention to the very real, sometimes quite substantial differences in status and power underlying those interactions in some places and times. And this careful, deliberate reframing of the archaeology of European colonialism is playing a substantial role in efforts to decolonize the discipline, to extract our assumptions, research questions, and methodologies from the colonial past.

Organization of This Volume

This edited volume explicitly challenges the Western/non-Western and historic/prehistoric frontiers in our discipline by bringing together scholars in each of these four areas of scholarship to encourage cross-fertilization of ideas, approaches, field and analytical methodologies, conceptual frameworks, and bibliographic references. The case studies that follow are organized into three groups of contributions. Each part is preceded by an introduction that provides information about the chapters grouped in each section.

Part I, “Local Adaptations,” includes four case studies of indigenous populations who variably adapted to colonial intrusions in ways that ensured a measure of cultural persistence and survival, or that were at least locally determined. Eric E. Jones (chapter 2) examines Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) communities’ settlement patterns during the early North American colonial period. Adam R. Kaeding (chapter 3) frames Maya responses to Spanish colonialism as choices made by residents of Beneficios Altos in Yucatán, Mexico. Richard Hingley’s work (chapter 4) complicates our understanding of Roman colonialism in Britain by contextualizing it within processes of population resettlement and interaction. Douglas C. Wilson, Kenneth M. Ames, and Cameron M. Smith (chapter 5) link changes in Chinook social organization to the impact of the colonial period fur trade in the North American Pacific Northwest. Collectively, the four chapters in part I make a strong case for rethinking assumptions about the loss of socio-political autonomy among indigenous peoples who are “colonized.”

Part II, “Movement, Conflict, and Transformation,” groups four case studies of local populations who experienced significant social, political, economic, and ideological change under colonialism. Grace Barretto-Tesoro and Vito Hernandez (chapter 6) document conflicting accounts by Spanish colonial priests and townspeople to a devastating flood in the Philippines, using archaeological data to resolve those different accounts. Robert J. Littman and Jay E. Silverstein (chapter 7) reconstruct local rebellions in the context of multiple imperial claims to Egypt. Geoffrey Clark (chapter 8) also examines the movements of people and the impact of conflict, but in the culturally diverse and

geographically vast setting of the Pacific undergoing waves of European colonialism. He uses European texts to reconstruct indigenous perspectives on conflict (vs. non-conflict) voyaging watercraft and crew composition. Tianlong Jiao's reconsideration of migration (chapter 9) attributes the dramatic decline of the prehistoric Liangzhu culture to waves of colonizers fleeing conflict on the Central Plains of China. The four chapters in part II make variable uses of textual and archaeological data in their exploration of conflict in colonial encounters.

Finally, the three chapters in part III, "Rethinking Categories," challenge common assumptions about the degrees to which different levels of political power determine the form and degree of state agents' impact on indigenous peoples and material cultures on colonial frontiers. Ulrike Matthies Green and Kirk E. Costion (chapter 10) build a graphical model of complex interactions within frontier zones; this model could be applied to the case studies described in each of the chapters in parts 1 and 2. The complexity and flexibility of their model provides a way to conceptualize and analyze multiple kinds of cross-cultural interaction in a frontier setting. Jay E. Silverstein's work (chapter 11) critically explores the impact of identifying borderlands as peripheral. This chapter reconstructs the responses of the Chontal to complex politics at the interface of the Aztec and Tarascan polities in Mexico. Finally, Christine D. Beaulé (chapter 12) offers a comparative look at the highly localized impact of Spanish evangelization and missionary efforts on religious artifacts in Bolivia and the Philippines. This last case study challenges our assumptions about homogeneity in colonies.

The rationale behind these groupings, instead of ones using geographical or chronological frameworks, is to divorce comparisons from our usual tendencies to stick to the familiar. These three groupings deliberately cross both intradisciplinary frontiers, sampling all four areas of colonial scholarship discussed earlier in this introduction. Even the artificial frontiers created by these groupings themselves invite erasure or creative reorganization. These themes are further developed, both in the text that introduces parts 1, 2, and 3 and in the volume's conclusions (chapter 13).

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